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AN ADDRESS  
ON THE CONNECTION  
OF  
CHURCH AND STATE

DELIVERED AT SION COLLEGE

ON

FEBRUARY 15, 1868

BY

ARTHUR PENRHYN STANLEY, D.D.

DEAN OF WESTMINSTER

*SECOND EDITION*

London:

MACMILLAN AND CO.

1868

One Shilling

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## PREFACE.

THIS ADDRESS was delivered before a meeting, chiefly of Clergy, in the Hall of Sion College, and is now published in deference to the wishes of some of those who heard it. A few notes have been added by way of explanation.



## PREFACE

TO

### THE SECOND EDITION.

SINCE this Address was delivered and published, the problem of the Irish Church, to which I adverted in a Note, rather as a matter of abstract argument than as a practical question, has assumed proportions of such magnitude, as to give a somewhat different colour to the general considerations involved in the Address. It is well, therefore, to add a few words bearing on this subject.

The Note itself on the Irish Church I leave untouched. Had the crisis then appeared as imminent as it seems now, I should have felt myself bound, for obvious reasons, to say either more or less. I still adhere to the position that, in many respects, the English and Irish Establishments stand on totally different grounds. Of the arguments, however, used against the Irish Church, whilst one class are directed exclusively to the case of Ireland, the other class are directed against all establishments equally. The disproportion of the hierarchy and its revenues to the Protestant population—the antagonism to the religious feelings and doctrines of the majority of the Irish nation—the sense of grievance produced by the appearance of inequality—these are the grounds which weigh with many of the *urged the destruction of the Irish Establish*

which restrain the mass of English churchmen from interfering on behalf of a sister branch of their own Church. It is obvious that these arguments in no way affect the great question of the connection of Church and State ; that their end would in most respects be gained, were that connection to be continued in Ireland on a greatly reduced scale ; and that, if they were carried out to their full extent, the Church of England would be strengthened instead of weakened by the removal of abuses in a kindred institution, and by the frank acknowledgment that the connection of the Irish Church with the State was not amongst the evils which had led to its reduction, or, if so be, to its overthrow.

But there is another class of arguments which are yet more strongly put forward, and which, as they are in no way founded on the peculiar condition of Ireland, derive their force entirely from their bearing on the abstract lawfulness of all Establishments. When it is urged (no doubt, with the utmost sincerity) that the proposed change is not for the disadvantage, but for the advantage of the Irish Church—that it will become freer, purer, wiser, better, even wealthier, by its separation from the English State—that its improved condition will thus become a model to be envied, and, if possible, followed by the Churches of England and Scotland ; that, according to some, truth of doctrine, according to others, freedom of thought, will enter on a new lease of life, by the deliverance of the spiritual powers of the Church from the bondage of the State—it is obvious that the Legislature, if persuaded of the soundness of these views, would be bound to apply them universally to all religious communities within the Queen's dominions.

Many of those who have taken part in the discussion have carefully and wisely discriminated between the two

kinds of argument. But it is evident that the enthusiasm which the project has kindled is due, in some important quarters, not so much to the desire of doing justice to Ireland, as to the expectation that this is the beginning of the end of all Established Churches, and it is not surprising that those who think the connection of the Church with the State to be a great advantage to both, should take alarm at the prospect.

It may be useful, therefore, to examine how far the fundamental separation of Church and State is involved in any proposal yet brought forward ; and whether the question of doing what is best for Ireland need of itself involve such alarm on the one side, or such exultation on the other, as would be naturally engendered by the abolition of the Irish Establishment, simply on the ground of the supposed evil of its connection with the State.

The word most commonly used, in popular discussions, to indicate the proposed change, is 'Disestablishment.'

It is evident that this word, until further defined, is extremely ambiguous, and may be understood to mean three very different propositions.

1. Its natural and exact sense would be the total removal of all the privileges and all the property of the Established Church—in fact, as far as the law is concerned, its complete abolition. This was done in the case of the Scottish Episcopal Church under William III. Its churches, houses, endowments, and legal position, passed entirely away. The Cathedral of Glasgow, the High Church of Edinburgh, were not left, and could not be left, to the Episcopalian clergy ; they received bare toleration, and that was all. Every Act of Parliament which has since been passed in their favour has so far received them back into the position of a quasi-establishment. But these concessions to them were not contemplated, and would not

have been allowed, at the time of the original change. The 'disestablishment' was complete and unmistakable. This, however, has been advocated, in the present case, by no leader of any considerable section. It may be assumed as yet that, in this vital and essential sense, the Irish Church is not to be 'disestablished.'

2. The plan apparently favoured by most of those who now use the word is the proposal for a change, more or less complete, in the legal position of the Church, combined with a retention of the churches, houses, perhaps glebes—possibly two-thirds of the property. This proposal, even if confined to the buildings alone, is essentially different from pure 'disestablishment.' The churches and cathedrals are national property, and cannot by the State be given to any particular body, without, so far as these are concerned, endowing and establishing it. Had the cathedrals of England been left to the Roman Catholics in 1558, or to the Anglicans in 1646, or the parish churches of Scotland to the Episcopalianists in 1689, the whole aspect of the change would have been different.

And further, this proposal, as has been well pointed out by the 'Hertfordshire Incumbent' and others, involves the creation of a new Church, by the State, to receive these endowments. It would therefore be, properly speaking, not so much a disestablishment, as a re-establishment of the Irish Church on a new footing. Such a re-establishment would be, literally, a State-made Church. The Church of England, and the Church of Scotland, as I have pointed out in the Address, have not been created by the State. *Nascuntur, non fiunt.* They are groups of institutions which have gradually grown up out of national sentiment and individual bequests, and gradually received the sanction and control of the Legislature. But the proposed new Church, whether governed

by Bishops, or Synods, or landowners, will have derived its origin from a direct Act of the State. And that Act, in all probability, must determine for it its future creed and its future discipline, on what tenure its endowments are to be held, who are to appoint its chief officers, whether it is to be free to choose its own formularies and courts of appeal, or whether it will be bound by those now existing or hereafter to exist in the Church of England. Such an arrangement may be, in spite of its great difficulties, the best conceivable solution of the problem. All that I would here observe, as bearing on the general question of disestablishment, is that it is not a complete separation of Church and State; that it has at once the disadvantages and the advantages of a compromise. In this case we should still retain the influence of the State: the question is whether we should retain it in its most beneficial form.

3. The third plan, also surnamed 'disestablishment,' is that of removing and retaining part, both of the endowments and of the privileges of the Established Church, and of sharing the remainder with the Roman Catholics. This is what was proposed by Lord Grey, Lord Russell, and Sir G. C. Lewis, and also, in fact, by the leading Liberal journal, which suggests the retention of the Crown nominations; and by the leading Liberal periodical, which two years ago proposed a carefully and ably digested scheme for executing such a plan in all its details.

This proposal of what may be called a partial establishment is less simple than a total disestablishment, and less exciting than a re-establishment. Yet it may be questioned whether there is not something to be said for the opportuneness of a measure which by so many is acknowledged to be in itself the best. The cases of the

Indian Bishops and of the Bishop of Sodor and Man, to which Mr. Bernal Osborne referred (in the speech which, more closely perhaps than any other in the recent debate, grappled with the details of the subject), furnish ample precedents for any amount of inequality in the different branches of the Established Church without entirely destroying their chief characteristics. The cases of Prussia and of Switzerland afford examples of the division of countries between two rival communions, both to a certain degree acknowledged by the State—each having its own local jurisdiction and privileges.

The present condition of the Irish Church is defended, and probably can be defended, by no one. If the calculation in the speech just referred to is correct, that, on the scale established in Ireland, we should have in England no less than 240 bishops, it is obvious that, even putting the grievance to Roman Catholics out of sight, there is needed an entire redistribution and reduction of the existing staff; and it is a sign of the increased liberality of our time, that whereas the suppression of the twelve Irish bishoprics in 1833 was denounced by one of the most venerated of our divines as ‘National Apostasy,’ and produced, by a recoil, the whole movement of the ‘Tracts for the Times,’ almost all would now hail a fresh reform of a like kind in the Irish Establishment as an unquestionable boon.

The main point at issue is, What, on the whole, would best promote the good government and improve the condition of the people of Ireland? If it were certain that this would be effected by the total disestablishment—that is, annihilation—of the Protestant Church, it would probably meet with but little resistance. But this, as I have said, being advocated by no one, it only remains to consider which of the various compromises is most

likely to civilise, pacify, and elevate the whole community.

It is natural that the extreme High Church party and the Liberationists should welcome an example of that emancipation from State control which they have so often preached. It is natural that the extreme Puritan and Orange party should welcome the prospect of a missionary church, let loose from all parochial and legal restraint, to attack its ancient enemy. It is also perfectly true, as has been frequently urged of late, that a religious community is not extinguished by its separation from the State. It may, within certain narrow limits, be more vigorous, more zealous, and more efficient. But Liberal principles have hitherto led us to believe that the clergy of every Church are rendered more tolerant and more enlightened by their contact and co-operation with the State; that there is an element introduced by this contact which nothing else can supply, and which, once lost, is lost for ever. Accordingly, the remedy urged for Ireland, in former times, by all our Liberal statesmen, was either to establish and endow the Roman Catholic instead of the Protestant Church, or else, whilst reducing all invidious privileges, so to endow both the Roman Catholic and the Protestant clergy, as to raise them above the heated passions and party feelings which are the acknowledged bane of voluntary communities. The opposition which such a proposal would encounter is the same as that which was overcome by the statesmen who carried the Roman Catholic Relief Act, and would surely disappear before the calm and dispassionate policy of a Legislature determined at all costs to secure the best interests of religion and civilisation at this important juncture.

*April 24, 1868.*



THE  
CONNECTION  
OF  
CHURCH AND STATE.

THE CONNECTION of Church and State, whatever is meant by it—and unquestionably something is meant—is at present assailed from formidable, though very different quarters. There is the old Nonconformist objection, originating partly in a small fraction of the Puritans, partly in the Scottish Covenanters, which, though it has died out in its extremest form of the Antiburghers, still, with more or less intensity, pervades the religious creed of the modern Independents and Baptists of England and the Free Church and the United Presbyterians of Scotland. There is the modern philosophical objection, which received a strong additional impulse at the French Revolution of 1789, and fortifies itself by the example of the United States. And lastly, most formidable, perhaps, because most recent, and from within the Established Church itself, the modern High Church objection, which showed itself first in the Non-jurors, and then breaking out again with more force in the early Oxford ‘Tracts for the Times,’ has reached its highest flights in our own day, in the claims of a section of the Colonial Bishops and some of the promoters of the Pan-Anglican Synod.

Objections  
to the con-  
nection of  
Church  
and State.

*Their objections.*

Before entering on the question itself, it may be worth while briefly to indicate one circumstance in the growth of these objections, which somewhat diminishes the prestige that they would otherwise possess. That circumstance lies in the fact that in the first instance they all, as I have pointed out, had their rise in a temporary and transitory sentiment. The first beginning of the Nonconformist hostility to the connection of Church and State arose, not from any scruple as to its abstract lawfulness, but from the antipathy of the Scottish Covenanters to any Government which would not take the Solemn League and Covenant, and therefore to the Government of 1688, and from the natural irritation of the Puritan Nonconformists against the persecuting acts of 1662.\* The objection of the Liberal School in great measure arose from a just dislike of the Pope's temporal sovereignty—an institution which, so far from being identical with what is properly called the connection of State and Church, is an example of the opposite principle, that of guarding the separate powers of the clergy by special guarantees against the ordinary course of human and national law. The origin of the High Church objection, in like manner, arose, in the first instance, not so much from the tenets of the High Church party, who in Laud's time maintained the connection with considerable energy, as from the resistance of the Jacobite clergy to the Dutch and Hanoverian dynasties, and afterwards, at the time of the Oxford 'Tracts,' from the alarm awakened by the suppression of the Irish bishoprics. In each instance, the vehemence of the feeling was continued after the occasion had passed away. But it has meanwhile taken the form of an abstract principle, threatening to undermine institutions very

\* The Five Mile Act, the Conventicle Act, and the now rescinded clauses of the Act of Uniformity.

different from those which first engendered the sentiment. It is this abstract principle which gives force to the combination of these three new allies, and which it will be my attempt to combat.

What then is meant by the Connection of Church and State? Doubtless the variety of elements which it includes is at once its strength and its weakness—its strength, because, as has been well observed, not one act, but a hundred acts of Parliament will be required to break it up; its weakness, because it thus presents a wider surface for attack. For this reason, let me briefly distinguish its accidents from its essence.

It is not the existence of Endowments. Endowments <sup>The es-  
sence of  
the Con-  
nection:</sup> materially contribute to the same purpose as an Establishment, and perhaps in some shape almost necessarily flow from it; but an Establishment may exist to a great degree without them, as in the case of Russia, and Endowments, as in the case of Nonconformist colleges, can exist without an Establishment.

It is not the continuance of ecclesiastics in offices of <sup>not En-  
dowments;</sup> secular importance, such as the Cardinals in the administration of the Roman States, or the German Prelates in their Principalities, or the Bishops in the House of Lords, or the country clergy in the functions of Justices of the Peace. In point of fact, the English clergy are excluded from the House of Commons by virtue of belonging to the Established Church.

Nor would the connection of itself be broken, though <sup>nor se-  
cular of-  
fices of the  
Clergy;</sup> it might be greatly weakened, were the State to delegate a large part of its ecclesiastical functions to an exclusively ecclesiastical body. To a certain degree this was actually the case in the General Councils under the Empire, and is still in the General Assembly of the Established Church of Scotland, and in most of the rules

<sup>nor con-  
stant in-  
terference  
of the  
State.</sup>

that relate to sacramental and quasi-sacramental ordinances in the Church of England.

The essence of the Connection of the Church and State.

These and other like matters are but so many various forms of the connection of Church and State. Its essential features, in which the idea represented may be more or less faintly seen, but which still are sufficient to secure the principle, may be simply stated thus:—

The recognition and control of the clergy by the State.

The first is that the State should recognise and support some religious expression of the community; the second, that this religious expression should be controlled and guided by the State. These two elements are inseparable, and must be attacked and defended together. It will be my purpose to show that, in spite of various objections which I shall state before I conclude, this connection has been, and may still be, fruitful, especially in England, of inestimable advantages both to the Clergy and the State.

I. Practical advantages of the recognition of a Church by the State.

I. It is hardly necessary to repeat at length the arguments of Chalmers and of Arnold as to the benefit of securing a clergy in those parts of the country where it is least likely that such a provision would be made by the people themselves; something saved ‘out of the scramble, which no covetousness can appropriate and ‘no folly waste; a provision made for public purposes in ‘the most unattractive districts no less than in the most ‘inviting—a man of education placed in every part of the ‘country, in the most improving of all situations, that is, a ‘life of constant intercourse with men, of which the direst ‘and acknowledged business is to do them good physically ‘and morally.’ It may be that if all the established clergy were withdrawn, and all the parish churches closed, there would be a rush of enthusiasm to fill up the vacant places. Such was to some degree the effect of Wesleyanism in the last century. But it would be a hazardous experiment, and it cannot be denied meantime that an immense amount

of the revival of religious life in our day has taken place within and upon the framework of the parochial system. Even in the great outburst of Wesleyan fervour, there was no spot more blessed by its apostolic piety than the parish of Fletcher of Madely; and the Wesleyan leaders themselves, as well as the original founders of Nonconformity, were originally nursed in the bosom of the National Church.

No such remedy of voluntary enthusiasm was provided in France, when the Established Clergy were overthrown in the Revolution of 1793.

An Established Church, says an eminent Nonconformist, if properly worked out, ‘supplies an instrumentality for ‘acting uniformly and constantly on the moral and spiritual condition of the whole country which harmonises ‘with all our ideas of a perfect civilisation.’\*

II. I pass on to less obvious but not less real advantages, II. General  
advan-  
tages. which appeal not only to the practical interests, but to the spiritual and speculative conscience of mankind.

The connection of Church and State is the nearest approach which, in our complex modern society, can be made to the original and essential idea of the Christian Church. This may be best shown by stating the most common objection to the institution. The fundamental objection, whether proceeding from Scottish Free Churchmen or English High Churchmen, is, that there is in the nature of ecclesiastical affairs something which makes it unlawful for lay or secular persons to approach them. The very expression ‘Theocracy,’ often applied both by friends and enemies to a purely clerical government, implies a belief that there is in it a divine character which would be debased if it were controlled or guided by any other than clerical hands. All the expressions, now so common in the

Nearest  
approach  
to the  
original  
constitu-  
tion of the  
Church.

\* Mr. Tayler's *Catholic and Christian Church*, p. 37.

English Church, as to 'the galling fetters of the State,' the 'heavy price paid by the Church for its union with the State,' 'the less the State interferes the better,' 'the Erastian heresy,' the 'emancipation of the Colonial Churches,' &c., imply a belief that, by their subjection to the power of the Law, the clergy are exposed to a servitude which they may perhaps bear in consideration of other advantages, but which ought to be reduced within the narrowest possible limits, and which ought to be thrown off whenever and wherever opportunity can be found.

*The power  
of the  
Christian  
commu-  
nity.*

If we revert to the origin of the Christian Church, we shall see that the fundamental idea of the Church in the New Testament is the reverse of this. It is that of a body in which the officers, of whatever kind they may be, Bishops, Presbyters, or Deacons, are ministers—that is, servants—of the whole community. As in answer to the question, 'What is the *Tiers-État*?' Sieyes replied, 'the nation, *minus* the clergy and the nobles;' so, in answer to the question, 'What is the *Laity*?' Arnold replied, 'the Church, *minus* the clergy.' Or, to use the language of one of my own predecessors, Dean Vincent, 'It might be thought an absurdity to call the large body of the laity "the Church," to the exclusion of the clergy; and yet it is a far greater absurdity to call the small body of the clergy "the Church," to the exclusion of the laity.' In whatever way the control of ecclesiastical affairs by the laity, or rather by the whole community, is exercised, there can be no question that it is in them that by the New Testament and by the first ages of Christendom the supremacy over the Church was vested. They elected their ministers. They chose their own faith, they moulded their own creed, they administered their own discipline, they were the *Ecclesia*, the *Assembly*, 'the Church.'

But here arises the question, how, in the present complex state of the world, and in the social condition of a country like England, is this right to be carried on? How can the real voice and mind of the Church be arrived at?

How to be  
exercised  
now?

Not by the Clergy alone. In the middle ages, when so large a mass of the intelligence of Christendom was absorbed in the clerical ranks, when metaphysical philosophers like Albertus Magnus, and scientific inquirers like Pope Sylvester, could be put side by side with theologians like Aquinas, and priests like Hildebrand, this might have been partially true; but even then there were elements of life in the king, the nobles, and the people, elements especially of family life, of intellectual life, which the clergy failed to represent. St. Louis was a far truer exemplar of Christian virtue, Dante of Christian intelligence, than any ecclesiastic, however high in rank or however devout in character. And this is much more the case now, when the lay professions have been so infinitely multiplied.

1. Not by  
the clergy  
alone;

Not by an assembly of the whole Christian community, for the simple reason that, in a nation like England, such an assembly would be impossible; still less by separate assemblies in particular towns or provinces, which could not represent the whole community itself. The formation of Christian nations is a fact which cannot now be recalled, and therefore to exclude the principle of national life from religious affairs would be to deprive religious thought of one of the noblest and most enkindling of human motives.

2. Not by  
separate  
extra-  
national  
assem-  
blies;

Not by what is called the lay element in church synods. The laymen who, as a general rule, figure in such assemblies do not represent the true lay mind of the country. They are often excellent men, given to good works, but they are also usually the partisans of some

not by the  
lay ele-  
ment in  
Church  
Synods;

special clerical school ; they are, in short, clergymen under another form rather than the real laity themselves.

but by the  
Church.

Where and how, then, can the true voice of the laity be found for the Church ? Surely in the same manner as it is found in other spheres. Whatever is the motive guiding force that rules the intelligence and the conscience of the whole country, by whatever means that force is called forth, that is the lay element which in our age corresponds to the early assembly of the Christian Church. And this, in its highest form, is what we call the Government or the State. It is no disparagement to the Clergy, because, drawing into itself the essence of the whole community, it includes the Clergy as well as the Laity. Like everything human, the State is essentially imperfect ; but it is not more imperfect than the purely clerical governments. No Princes of secular states have led more abandoned lives than some of the Roman Pontiffs ; no Parliaments have, except in the wild times of revolution, committed more unchristian acts than those perpetrated by the Councils of Constantinople, Ephesus, and Constance. The State may be despotic, but so may be a Bishop or a body of Bishops ; it may be democratic, but so may be a Convention or a Convocation. The language of the great secular press, at least in this country, is incomparably more just, more truthful, more moderate, and therefore more Christian, than that of the so-called religious newspapers which claim to represent the sentiments of the clerical and religious world. Of all earthly institutions, the State is that in the improvement and perfecting of which every class in the community has the deepest interest ; and, speaking for a moment on Scriptural grounds, there is no existing institution which can claim from the Bible so distinctly sacred a character. Even before its conversion the Roman Empire was re-

garded by the Apostle as a 'Minister of God,' 'ordained of God, the ordinance of God.' No stronger expressions can be found in the New Testament for any outward office or officer inside the Christian community. After its conversion, the State by a natural instinct assumed those functions of the old Christian democracy which were felt incompatible with the changed condition of things. By the sovereigns of the State the chief ecclesiastical officers were appointed, as formerly by the tumultuous gatherings in the market-place. By them the Christian laity were represented in the Councils, as once by the 'brethren,' even after the claims of a distinct hierarchy had sprung up. And so it must emphatically be in such a country as ours. The supremacy of the Crown, that is, of the Law, over all causes, and over all persons, ecclesiastical as well as civil, is the supremacy of the whole nation over its own concerns, spiritual as well as temporal. It is no encroachment on that which does not belong to it. It is the direct expression of the laity and the clergy, through the best organs which the experience and wisdom of a thousand years have been able to contrive, on matters which touch them more immediately than any other interests in the world. Cultivate independence, repress servility, check centralisation, reform the representation, amend the division of labour in its different departments, elevate the press, purify public opinion; but it is by improving these, not by creating new institutions drawn from small sections of other communities, that you will ever get a true Government for the Church of this great nation.

Clergy and laity alike have a duty to conscience—a duty to God, which no law of either Church or State can touch; a submission due to the real spiritual authority of Truth, with which no ecclesiastical and no secular

decrees can interfere. ‘We must obey God rather than ‘man,’ is a principle which may require resistance to the State, neither more nor less than to the religious community to which we belong. But, so far from considering their position as servants of the State to be a degradation, not a few of the clergy regard it as their highest honour and privilege; nay, I cannot but believe that this is so, even in spite of themselves, with the majority of English pastors, both conforming and nonconforming. ‘The ‘Church of Christ,’ as Arnold says, ‘is indeed far above all ‘human ties; but England to a true Englishman ought to ‘be far dearer than the Church of England,’ or than any particular form of Episcopacy, Presbyterianism, Independency, Wesleyanism, or Unitarianism, with which we may severally have been brought into contact. We serve God before all; but next to our service of God is the service of our country through and in that particular calling in which Providence has placed us. A Judge is not less, but more a Judge, because he sits on the Queen’s Bench; a sailor is not less, but more animated with the independence and the courage of a sailor, because he serves in the Queen’s ship; and a clergyman surely ought not to set forth Divine truth less faithfully, or consider the consciences of those with whom he has to deal less tenderly, because he does it in the name of the Law, and as a representative, in his own place and calling, of the kingly Commonwealth of England.

Confusion  
of the word  
'spiritual.'

The fact is that, through all the arguments which are used to undermine this grand position, there runs a secret belief that the word ‘spiritual’ can be used for some process apart from the inward operation of our souls and spirits—a tacit assumption that some particular ecclesiastical organisation, and that alone, is identical with the kingdom of Heaven, and that all civil

organisations,\* and those alone, are identical with the kingdom of this world. If this were true, then, as Pope Innocent III. remarked long ago, the civil power must not only be separate from the ecclesiastical power, but altogether subordinate to it; and the clergy ought everywhere not only to be independent of the State, but to oppose and thwart it. The only consistent maintainers of this principle that I ever heard of were the Cameronians of a Highland village, who delated their minister for having asked to have a post office in the village—thus recognising for the first time the Government which had not accepted the Solemn League and Covenant. But the whole assumption is based on a mere abuse of words. The kingdom of Heaven—that is, the triumph of good over evil—is no more identical with any earthly organisation, either ecclesiastical or secular, than it is with geographical limits or external pomps. It is something above and beyond and through them all. The kingdom of Christ is not of this world at all; neither of this world as it appears on the throne of Kings, nor on the thrones of Bishops, nor on the benches of Parliament, nor in the seats of General Councils or of General Assemblies, nor in Conferences, whether suggested by the Emperor of the French at Paris, or by Canadian or African Bishops at Lambeth, nor even as founded by John Wesley in the great Conference of the Methodists. Every society, by the mere fact of its being a human society, must be temporal, must be guided by mixed motives, must have a temporal human government.

When our Scottish friends say that Christ is the Head of the Church, in any other sense than that in which He

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is the Head of all Churches and all States alike, they are clothing with a splendid name a very commonplace institution. A learned Scottish Judge remarked, in language as perspicuous as it is true, and as applicable to England as it is to Scotland, ‘The position that our ‘Saviour is the Head of the Church of Scotland, in any ‘temporal, or legislative, or judicial sense, is a position ‘which I can dignify by no other name than absurdity.’

I have heard of a conversation between a Free Churchwoman and an Established Churchwoman to this effect: Free Churchwoman: ‘D’ye ken wha’s the head of your Church?—it’s the Queen.’ Established Churchwoman: ‘Weel, I’m glad to hear it; I believe that she’s a very ‘decent body. But d’ye ken wha’s the head of *your* ‘Church?—ye think ye ken wha it is—it’s no such ‘thing. I’ll tell you—it’s Joseph Thompson, the tailor, ‘that neither ye nor the minister dare peep or wag a ‘finger, if it does not please him. He’s the head of *your* ‘Church; and for my part I am quite as well content ‘with the head of ours.’ Strip this conversation of its grotesque personalities, and it exactly represents the true and the only difference between an Established and a so-called Free Church. The Headship of Christ in its true sense belongs equally to both Churches or to neither. Their actual earthly headship and governance, in the one case, is vested in the law and the government of the whole country; in the other case, in the irresponsible influence of some particular individual or congregation that happens for the moment to have gained the popular ear. I do not deny that there are advantages in the latter kind of headship, and disadvantages in the former; but what I have maintained is, that one of them is no more spiritual than the other, and what I shall proceed to show is that the Constitutional headship of the State is

more likely to be truly wise, truly just, and thus truly Christian, than the absolute headship either of a Bishop or of a Synod, or of the preponderating influence of some local leader or congregation in the next street. From these advantages I will select the most essential.

1. There is, first, the security that it gives for the supremacy of equal law in the most important of human interests. It is in the absence of calm, judicial wisdom that small societies, especially those animated by religious zeal, most signally fail. It was by emancipating themselves from the control of the law that the clergy of Western Christendom, in the middle ages, created a position as dangerous to themselves as it was mischievous to the whole community. The principle of the Constitutions of Clarendon, which subjected what were called spiritual persons to lay tribunals, though thwarted for nearly four hundred years by the reaction which followed the murder of Becket, is now acknowledged by almost every country in Europe as indispensable alike to the welfare of the clergy and the laity. No step more fatal for either could be taken than the endeavour to establish a new code of laws, applicable to the one and inapplicable to the other.

1. Supremacy of Law.

It is this which constitutes the true mischief of the temporal power of the Pope. That exceptional power establishes in the one country where it exists a claim for the independence of the clergy, not only from the national laws which govern all other citizens, but from the international laws which govern all other states. It is the extremest exaggeration of the pretensions of the separation of the Church from the State. The Free Churches of Scotland and the would-be Free Churches of England desire from their respective legislatures a protection of the supposed inalienable privileges of the clergy, which shall prevent the entrance of the civil power into their courts.

The Free Church of the Papacy demands from the Emperor of the French the protection of Chassepot rifles to enable it to suppress the national and reforming tendencies of its own subjects. The one thing which these several societies in common need and dread is the just and equal administration of law to all classes. I quote from the words of a liberal and pious Roman Catholic: 'Indifference to justice between man and man is pre-eminently the fault into which a clerical body is apt to fall, which . . . rejects everything approaching to public responsibility as detestable and anti-Christian.'\* I quote also from a distinguished Scottish Judge: 'I cannot forget that, under the discipline of one of the best Christians and greatest theologians the Church ever knew—that of the great Calvin—414 public trials took place before the Consistory in two years (1558 and 1559), ending not only in Church censures, but many in civil punishments, for matters a great number of which there is not a pious Christian of the present day who would not deem wholly unfit to be noticed in any other way than by private rebuke.'† The chief example of a Judge on religious matters whom St. Paul and St. Luke hold up to us as a model of impartial justice, but whose name with ecclesiastical zealots has by a strange mistake of interpretation become a term of reproach, is the Proconsul Gallio.‡ 'He cared for none of these 'things,' says the author of the Acts, with a genuine burst of admiration, as he records his noble indifference to the popular clamour of the Jews at his judgment-seat. And had the course of law, as it might easily have done,

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2. Secondly, there is the opportunity given in a higher degree than has been found possible elsewhere, or by any other means that have yet been discovered, for the gradual growth of religious forms and religious opinions, and of that free expression of individual belief which is indispensable to any healthy development of religious action. And the changes conducted by the power of a great State are far more likely to be in conformity with the feelings of the whole community, and of the most intelligent part of it, than those which are proposed and carried by majorities in excited clerical or quasi-clerical meetings. The Reformation in every country in Europe, except Holland, was carried by the direct intervention and aid of the Government. The beneficial changes which have been made in the ecclesiastical regulations of England—those which are most precious to the Nonconformists—and which are clearly recognised to be good, even by those who at the time most resisted them, were all effected by the Legislature—that is, not by the Clergy alone, or by the Dissenters alone, sometimes against the advice of both or of each, but by the joint effort of the whole Christian Community—the Toleration Act, the Abolition of the Slave Trade, the Test and Corporation Act, the Roman Catholic Relief Act, the Church Reform Acts, the Relaxation of Subscription.

The interpretations of the English formularies by the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council have not

2. Opportunity for development of religious freedom.

been almost all favourable to freedom, but have almost all been acquiesced in subsequently even by those who at the time regarded them with the greatest alarm. Of the Gorham decision it has been truly said, that so far from its having been a heavy price to pay for the connection of Church and State, it was a blessing which hardly any price would have been too heavy to purchase. The doctrine which it was thought to disparage, if preached less constantly, is not held less strongly—the doctrine which it tolerated is held without its former bitterness, and without the sense of irritation. The Ritual judgments are the only acts of authority which have had the slightest effect in tranquillising the fierce passions engendered on either side. Of the 'Essays and Reviews' judgment, even High Churchmen are beginning to acknowledge that any other decision would have been in direct contravention of those General Councils which High Churchmen most delight to honour. It may be observed, in passing, that decisions of this kind, though they constitute the chief point against which the missiles of Liberationists, whether inside or outside the Church, are directed, yet are the very point of contact between the State and religious convictions, in which almost every ecclesiastical community is equally concerned. No question of interpretation of doctrine, in regard to property, can arise in any religious body in England which may not eventually be brought before a tribunal of this nature for its settlement. It is the only tribunal in which all the contending parties will acquiesce. The only difference in this respect, between the Roman Catholic and Protestant Nonconformists on the one side, and the Church of England on the other, is, that the Church of England, in its Articles and constitution, openly acknowledges the principle which the others admit indirectly. When Cardinal Wiseman taunted the Church

England with having appealed from the High Priest's hall to the Hall of Cæsar, he might have remembered that this was exactly the course gladly pursued by the Apostle Paul before Festus, and that the judgment-seat of Pilate, the Roman magistrate, was the one opening of escape from the dark and iniquitous judgment of the High Priest Caiaphas. He might also have remembered that it was an appeal which he himself, willingly or unwillingly, must have made had a question in regard to property arisen, touching that large class of doctrines which one half the Roman Catholic world regards as lawful, the other as unlawful within their Church.

The only Protestant community which seems to have succeeded in making the ecclesiastical tribunals absolutely irresponsible is that of the United States. There, by an ingenious system of distinguishing between Churches and Corporations, St. Paul's right of appeal seems to be almost entirely barred—I say almost, for even there the complex definitions of the American law appear to have left a loophole,\* through which in some future time the right of individual members or ministers may be protected.

It is remarkable that in the United States, whatever may be the case in regard to the expression of general opinion, the expression of opinion within the particular Churches is far less free than it is in England. The Episcopalians of America have, I am told, no elements within their body corresponding to those which furnish the strongest stimulus to learning and inquiry in our Church. The Independents of America have re-enacted the stringent Savoy Confession which the English Independents in the neighbourhood of an Established Church have thrown aside.†

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3. Elasticity of the National Church.

3. Thirdly, from this elasticity and capacity of growth—as well as from the mere fact that the religion acknowledged by the State is the National religion—it furnishes a refuge for the simple and childlike, as well as for the aspiring and comprehensive, minds of every community. The State, it has been often said by way of objection, cannot enter into the detailed dogmatical belief of particular sects. It must be latitudinarian; it must, as in Great Britain, recognise the possibility of different forms of Christian belief—as of Presbyterianism in Scotland, Anglicanism in England, Roman Catholicism in Ireland; it must, as in France and Prussia, recognise as national both the Roman Catholic and the Protestant Church. This, however, is one of the best arguments in its favour. It is the ground of the comprehensiveness of the Church of England. It thus fulfils the ideal which the ‘ever-memorable Hales’ drew of a National Church—that its shield should be as near as possible like that of Amphiarus—a blank shield, with no device of party or sect. It fulfils the ideal of the Early Church—an ark, a vessel containing the clean and unclean beasts alike. What we often mean by ‘profound’ is, as Talleyrand well remarked, not deep but hollow. If the theology of the State is not profound, at any rate it is not hollow. It is much nearer to the theology of Bacon, Shakspeare, Scott,—the theology of Butler and, in great part, of Hooker,—of that long line of self-controlled theologians, who, beginning with some of the Alexandrian and Greek Fathers, reappearing more fully in Erasmus, Grotius,

the doors of their churches, like those of Established Churches, are forbidden to be locked, barred, or bolted. Publicity no doubt is a condition which all bodies, aiming at ends not contemplated by the law, are anxious to avoid, and it is therefore so much the more remarkable an instance of the interference of the Government to secure it.—*Law of Creeds in Scotland*, p. 246.

Hales, Chillingworth, Cudworth, Taylor, Baxter in his latest years, and in the fundamental tenets of Wesley, has formed the backbone of Christian theology, on which all who are not partisans of either extreme will ever fall back in their calmer and better moods.

No one will accuse Burke of lukewarmness in philosophy or religion, yet he says: 'Had I possessed a vote 'when the Directory was going to be established, I 'would have divided for the Common Prayer; or had 'I lived when the Common Prayer was re-established, I 'should have voted for the Directory. The reason is 'obvious. They were not essentially different. Neither 'contained anything contrary to the Scriptures, or that 'could shock a rational Christian.' \*

No doubt the judicial decisions of Privy Councils, as well as of General Councils, 'may err, and sometimes 'have erred, even in matters pertaining to the faith.' The case of Mr. Heath is an unfortunate instance of a clergyman having been deprived of his benefice virtually because he was deaf. But still, in point of fact, the theology of these great judicial sentences has frequently been as good as the law. There is, perhaps, no decision of any Council or Holy Office equal in moderation and insight to that of the Gorham Judgment, unless it be that which so greatly resembles it in its inclusion of two opposite principles—the decision of the First Council at Jerusalem.

Many good men think that this is a dangerous latitude, and that the main use of independent ecclesiastical courts is to secure unity in doctrine. But look at the case of Scotland. No Churches have been more torn by disputes on what they believe to be essentials than the Free Churches of Scotland, and yet, outside their own communities, it is impossible for any human being to dis-

\* Burke's *Works*, i. 94. - 2. 1. 2  
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tinguish or unravel the points in dispute. What is true of the quarrels between the Relief and Secession Churches in the highest degree, is true more or less of many of the questions to which each theological sect attaches most importance, but which the State would probably treat as they would be treated by all except the special partisans of the opinions in question.

‘There is some one,’ said Talleyrand, speaking of worldly politics, ‘more clever than Voltaire, more sagacious than Napoleon, more shrewd than each minister, ‘past, present, and to come, and that some one is everybody.’ ‘There is some one,’ we may say, in ecclesiastical politics, ‘more learned, more able, and more versatile ‘than any individual Bishop—more likely to be right than ‘the Pope of Rome, or the Wesleyan Conference, or the ‘General Assembly—and that is the whole community.’

The connection of the Church with the State is, in this respect, merely another form of that great Christian principle—that cardinal doctrine of the Reformation, which is at the same time truly Catholic and truly Apostolical—that Christian life and Christian theology thrive the most vigorously, not by separation, and isolation, and secrecy, but by intercommunion with the domestic and social relations of man—in the world, though not of it. What the marriage of the clergy, what the religious tone of the laity, what the free expressions of religious opinion in literature, are in common life—may I say, what Westminster Abbey is in the ecclesiastical architecture of England?—that the control of the State and the connection with the State is to the Christian Church. We of the Established Church have doubtless much to learn from Nonconformists; but, if we were to become Nonconformists, even for the sake of conforming with opinions most like our own, we could only do so by surrender-

organisations,\* and those alone, are identical with the kingdom of this world. If this were true, then, as Pope Innocent III. remarked long ago, the civil power must not only be separate from the ecclesiastical power, but altogether subordinate to it ; and the clergy ought everywhere not only to be independent of the State, but to oppose and thwart it. The only consistent maintainers of this principle that I ever heard of were the Cameronians of a Highland village, who delated their minister for having asked to have a post office in the village—thus recognising for the first time the Government which had not accepted the Solemn League and Covenant. But the whole assumption is based on a mere abuse of words. The kingdom of Heaven—that is, the triumph of good over evil—is no more identical with any earthly organisation, either ecclesiastical or secular, than it is with geographical limits or external pomps. It is something above and beyond and through them all. The kingdom of Christ is not of this world at all ; neither of this world as it appears on the throne of Kings, nor on the thrones of Bishops, nor on the benches of Parliament, nor in the seats of General Councils or of General Assemblies, nor in Conferences, whether suggested by the Emperor of the French at Paris, or by Canadian or African Bishops at Lambeth, nor even as founded by John Wesley in the great Conference of the Methodists. Every society, by the mere fact of its being a human society, must be temporal, must be guided by mixed motives, must have a temporal human government.

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I have heard of a conversation between a Free Churchwoman and an Established Churchwoman to this effect: Free Churchwoman: ‘D’ye ken wha’s the head of Church?—it’s the Queen.’ Established Churchwoman: ‘Weel, I’m glad to hear it; I believe that she’s a decent body. But d’ye ken wha’s the head of Church?—ye think ye ken wha it is—it’s nothing. I’ll tell you—it’s Joseph Thompson, the man that neither ye nor the minister dare peep or venture to touch, if it does not please him. He’s the head of Church; and for my part I am quite as well content with the head of ours.’ Strip this conversation of its grotesque personalities, and it exactly represents the essential difference between an Established and a Free Church. The Headship of Christ in its spiritual sense belongs equally to both Churches or to neither. Their actual earthly headship and governance, in the one case, is vested in the law and the government of the whole country; in the other case, in the irresponsible influence of some particular individual or congregation. It happens for the moment to have gained the popular support. I do not deny that there are advantages in the one kind of headship, and disadvantages in the former; but what I have maintained is, that one of them is no more spiritual than the other, and what I shall proceed to show is that the Constitutional headship of the State

was at that time separated from its temporal monarchy, and both Pius VII. and Consalvi were eminently respectable men. No character and no stratagems can be more entirely worldly than those exhibited in the picture, of which the faithfulness is not questioned, of the schemes of Dr. Packthread, in Mrs. Stowe's novel of 'Dred,' in the Free Churches on the other side the Atlantic.

A certain exclusive ardour and purity of discipline may be kept alive by breaking up the religious community into small fragments. But this principle, to be consistently carried out, must divide and subdivide infinitesimally. The answer of Constantine to the first Puritan—the first Liberationist, the Novatian Acesius—is still true: 'Take a ladder, and climb up to Heaven by yourself.'

I quite concede the advantages which even a solitary hermit like Acesius confers on the Christian world by his independence and austerity of life. It is one of the large debts which we owe to Nonconformists, that they have vindicated in England the sacredness of the individual conscience, the ideal of Christian purity, the noble impetuosity of Christian enthusiasm. All honour to them for it! But, on the other hand, they themselves, I believe, would testify to the jealousies and narrowness engendered \* by the machinations of small religious circles.

\* 'Dissenting churches, as a whole, fail to be "in the world, yet not of it." They are not "churches in the world," far less The Church—the Body of Christ in the world—but "cliques apart from the world;" very pious and earnest, doubtless, but of a piety that locks itself up in the chapel and the Sunday, and never escapes into the market and the weekday.'

'Objection is taken to Hooker's position, that every member of the Commonwealth is also of the Church of England, because, therefore, "no discipline can be maintained over laity and clergy." I have no space or time now to argue whether the whole position of Dissenting Churches is not unsound; but, taking the facts as they are, what greater bondage can be imagined on ministers and people than the frequent terms of trust-deeds?—what more notorious than the inconsistency between the opinions of many members, and even ministers, and those laid down in trust-deeds? And as to Church

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2. Opportunity for development of religious freedom.

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been almost all favourable to freedom, but have almost all been acquiesced in subsequently even by those who at the time regarded them with the greatest alarm. Of the Gorham decision it has been truly said, that so far from its having been a heavy price to pay for the connection of Church and State, it was a blessing which hardly any price would have been too heavy to purchase. The doctrine which it was thought to disparage, if preached less constantly, is not held less strongly—the doctrine which it tolerated is held without its former bitterness, and without the sense of irritation. The Ritual judgments are the only acts of authority which have had the slightest effect in tranquillising the fierce passions engendered on either side. Of the 'Essays and Reviews' judgment, even High Churchmen are beginning to acknowledge that any other decision would have been in direct contravention of those General Councils which High Churchmen most delight to honour. It may be observed, in passing, that decisions of this kind, though they constitute the chief point against which the missiles of Liberationists, whether inside or outside the Church, are directed, yet are the very point of contact between the State and religious convictions, in which almost every ecclesiastical community is equally concerned. No question of interpretation of doctrine, in regard to property, can arise in any religious body in England which may not eventually be brought before a tribunal of this nature for its settlement. It is the only tribunal in which all the contending parties will acquiesce. The only difference in this respect, between the Roman Catholic and Protestant Nonconformists on the one side, and the Church of England on the other, is, that the Church of England, in its Articles and constitution, openly acknowledges the principle which the others admit indirectly. When Cardinal Wiseman taunted the Church

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Conclusion.

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State I have freely allowed. Like every human institution, it may be doomed to destruction, and to be succeeded by something better than itself. It may fall, as a relic of the past, with all the other old institutions of England—the Monarchy, the Aristocracy, the mysterious Constitution itself. It may be that we shall live to see the triumph of the triple alliance between the descendants of the Puritans, the descendants of Rousseau, and the descendants of Laud. It may be that we shall see this venerable growth of English history uprooted, the parochial system swept away, the National Church broken into fragments, the cathedrals and parish churches closed, Westminster Abbey sold to the first chance purchaser for what its stones are worth; the Episcopalian clergy left to the tender mercies of irresponsible Bishops, the Presbyterian clergy to the equally irresponsible tribunals of Presbyteries and General Assemblies; the nation at large cut off from any control over the greatest and most sacred of all its interests; the true voice of the laity and of the Church silenced in its greatest and most powerful organ; the nation ceasing to recognise the loftiest and purest of all the missions entrusted to it. This, and nothing less than this, will be a true and complete separation of Church and State. This may be, and out of this chaos our children may be called laboriously to construct a new order of things. But, till the fatal hour be come, I, for one, am prepared, as an American Bishop, impressed with the evils of his own system, recently urged us, ‘to fight ‘for our present constitution, to the moral death.’ Let us reform, enlarge, ease the system as much as we can; but let us not, without a struggle, consent to see this backbone of the English Church and Commonwealth broken to pieces. Let us not rashly part with the framework which, with all its faults, has sheltered, down to this

time, what has been truly called 'the learning of the most learned, the freedom of the freest, and the reason of the most rational Church in Christendom.' Let us not be ashamed of that theory of the Church of England which was proclaimed by Cranmer and Ridley, which satisfied Burke and Coleridge, which inspired Hooker and Arnold with enthusiastic love and admiration. Let us not be ashamed to be Erastian with St. Paul. Let us not, so long as Providence permits, willingly surrender the best opportunity which the world affords for a natural growth, side by side, of scientific enquiry and religious earnestness, such as will meet the natural wants of the English character, and the needs of future generations. Let us not cast away the golden chance for this age of transition—which enables us to wait in patience the changes and the trials and the blessings which may be in store for us—the golden chance which, when it is gone, will perhaps be vainly lamented by those who, within and without the Establishment, are labouring to cast it aside. Episcopilians, Roman Catholics, Wesleyans, Unitarians, Independents, Quakers we may become, if the Establishment is overthrown; but English Churchmen, with all which that name implies of glory in the past, and of hope in the future, we shall be no more. And, therefore, for all the reasons which I have urged, in spite of all obloquy from my High Church, my Liberal, and my Nonconformist friends, I still venture to trust that the Church of England may yet continue as 'a Free Church in a Free State'—not in that degraded sense in which it means an enslaved Clergy amidst an indifferent Laity, but in the only true and exalted sense which those words ought to bear—in the sense of a Clergy whose freedom is bounded only by Law, and a State in whose free constitution and free press and free aspirations the voice of the Church finds its best expression.



## NOTE A.

## THE IRISH CHURCH.

A FEW REMARKS may be permitted to explain why, in connection with the general subject of this Address, I have avoided a topic of such pressing interest as the Established Church of Ireland.

1. It is often said, both by the defenders and the assailants of the Irish Protestant Church, that this is the very battlefield, the crucial case, in which the principle of an Established Church must be fought out. The defenders urge this with the view of enlisting the sympathies of English Churchmen on their side, on the maxim of *Proximus Ucalegon*. The assailants urge it, with the view of attacking the principle of Establishments generally, through this, which is supposed to be its weakest side.

It is surely more true to say that the anomalous and peculiar condition of Ireland, in reference to England, makes it too exceptional a field for the trial of any general principle. It is not only, as has been often said, that many of the reasons which justify an Established Church in England condemn it in Ireland, and that many of the reasons which condemn it in Ireland justify it in England; but that the variety and force of the disturbing elements in Ireland ought to warn us against drawing general conclusions from so precarious an example—against attacking or defending so insulated a position

with arguments intended to cover a much larger extent of ground. I venture to say thus much, not with the view of prejudicing the case on either side, but rather with the view of disentangling a serious practical question from irrelevant considerations, and an abstract principle from a peculiar political difficulty.

2. Whatever may be the issue forced by the emergency of the time on those who have to deal with the Irish Church, and viewing it merely as an isolated problem, it must be remembered that the question of the connection or separation of Church and State is not of necessity involved in it. When, sixty or seventy years ago, the difficulty of the Irish Establishment first arose, it presented itself under the form of endowing and establishing the Roman Catholic Church, by the side or in the stead of the Protestant Church. The notion of parting with the benefits of an Established Church altogether had not then become one of the elements of discussion. This has been introduced into the question partly, no doubt, by the external action of the English Liberationists, partly also by the difficulties thrown in the way of such a scheme by the Roman Catholics themselves. It may be that the combined forces of these two streams will be too powerful to resist. But it is worth while remarking, that dispassionate observers seem generally agreed in considering, that if such a solution is adopted, it will be not as the best, but as the only one which existing circumstances will allow—perhaps as in itself the worst, except for the pressure of those practical difficulties. It is probably admitted on all sides that, on the one hand, the dependence of the Roman Catholic clergy on their flocks for subsistence, and on a foreign Prince for dignity and rank, which now forms the worst feature of the Irish ecclesiastical system in the

yes of all reasonable men, would remain undiminished. In no other country in Europe have the Roman Catholic clergy refused the endowment and control of the State. No other Government in Europe, Roman Catholic or Protestant, would willingly lose such an opportunity of guarding and guiding so powerful an element in the national life. And, on the other hand, it seems also agreed—indeed, by some it is put forward as a reason for disestablishing the Protestant Church—that in that case the vehemence of the Orange party, now confined and moderated in some degree by the influence of a venerable and legal institution, would be set loose on a new career of proselytism and aggression, which certainly would not tend to increase the harmony between the two Churches. This, again, is a state of things which no Statesman, no large-minded Christian, would naturally desire, however much he may be constrained to acquiesce in it as an escape from immediate evils, and a concession to urgent demands.

I repeat that I do not in these remarks enter on the question of the mode of dealing with the Irish Establishment. I only venture to suggest that, as even in this case the results of a complete severance of the connection with the State are generally deemed questionable in themselves, they cannot be pleaded as arguments in behalf of carrying out the same system where no such exceptional circumstances exist.

3. It is worth remarking, that there is a sense in which the Churches of England and Scotland are national, which can hardly be said either of the Roman Catholic or the Protestant Church in Ireland. The Church of England, however much some of its formulæries and institutions raise objections in the minds of Nonconformists, yet is still viewed by them with respect,

and in some points with affection. The Prayer Book is a monument of English sacred literature (to say no more), of which every Englishman is justly proud. The Commentaries, Hymns, and Sermons of many Anglican divines are read with pleasure by almost every class of the community, however widely they may be separated on points of doctrine or discipline from the Church in which the authors were educated. The Authorised Version is the Bible of the whole community, and binds together even those who have no other bond. Of the Church of Scotland it is still more true, that, however fierce the animosities between the different Scottish sects, yet its Confession of Faith, its Catechism, its form of Church Government, its Hymns, its Paraphrases, and its style of preaching, are accepted, almost without questioning, by the extremest dissidents from its pale. In Ireland this is hardly the case either with the Roman Catholic or the Protestant Church. The sacred literature, the Prayer Book of the Protestant Church, are not the common property of the whole Irish nation—nor, reciprocally, have the ritual or the sacred literature of the Roman Catholic Church penetrated into the Protestant section of the people. The Authorised Version of the Protestant Church—the Douay Version of the Roman Church—are points of repulsion, not of attraction. It is therefore to be feared, that although in a certain sense each of the two Churches in Ireland may be called national, the one as representing the intelligence, the other the numbers of the people, yet there is a distinction between them which must prevent for a long time either of them becoming national, in the same sense as that in which even the Roman Catholic Church may be so regarded by the Protestants of France, and the Lutheran Church by the Roman Catholics of Germany.

For all these reasons, it seemed to me useless and needless to introduce into this particular Address a controversy which, however grave, derives its main interest from other sources, and tends rather to confuse than to enlighten the great subject here discussed.

## NOTE B.

## RELATION OF THE ROMAN GOVERNMENT TO THE EARLY CHURCH.

NOTHING is more remarkable in the Acts of the Apostles and the Apostolical Epistles than the deference shown to the Roman State, and the gratitude expressed towards it for the shelter which it afforded to the early Christians from the violence and fanaticism of the Jewish Church. It is evident that one expression of this general feeling is the admiration expressed for Gallio, in Acts xviii. 13–17. Determined attempts were made to turn him from his duty as judge, whether by argument, as at first, or by violence afterwards. He ‘cared for none of these things.’ He showed that ‘indifferent administration of justice,’ which is the Church’s petition for all magistrates, and by which the Imperial Government was so endeared to the first Christians, who looked upon it, before the age of persecution began, as their chief protector.

This is so evident to any careful reader of the sacred narrative that it needs no explanation. But there is a larger question raised, which has been discussed with such force by the very able writer whom I have often quoted, that I cannot forbear to give his discussion of it in detail:—

‘It is sometimes rashly inferred, that because the Roman proconsul “cared for none of those things”

‘ which were at this time brought before him, he therefore acted with careless injustice in refusing to consider them. On the contrary, his speech is a perfect expression of the wise and haughty justice of Rome. There can be no doubt that he was bound to dismiss the complaint.

‘ But it is sometimes assumed that, on the same grounds on which he dismissed this complaint, he would have been entitled to get rid of all such questions, however they were brought before him; or at least, that being as we may assume, disposed to get rid of them, he would on the same grounds have been able to do so. This is certainly not the case.

‘ Annæus Gallio was seemingly at this time newly come to his proconsulship; but he could not have long remained a judge to that nation without finding cases in which a “ matter of wrong”—*ἀδίκημα*—coming before him could only be put right through means of an inquiry into some of the religionisms of the confused time. He could not, at least, always refuse an action in the same summary way to those who complained. If, instead of the Jews saying to the unsympathising governor, “This fellow persuadeth men to worship God contrary to the law,” Paul had complained that they had turned him out of the synagogue with violence, or had refused him and his friends a share of the benefactions left in their hands by some devout and honourable person for all Jews who should hereafter come to Corinth, a personal action would seem to have been competent to the aggrieved. It may be very doubtful indeed, whether Paul would have availed himself of this right of complaint. Instead of doing so, both here and in Ephesus, he “ separated himself” (evidently much against his will) from the regular synagogue and opened another hard by. But

if his excommunication involved direct pecuniary loss or penalty, the complaint would have been *primâ facie* competent. And the *Exceptio* or defence of the accused would be that Paul was no Jew, for “after a way which they called heresy so worshipped he the God of his fathers ;” unless, indeed, they confined themselves to the preliminary objection, that on all matters connected with the synagogue they had full authority by the consent of the worshippers themselves. But whichever the objection might be, the proconsul would send it, along with the accusation, to a *Judex* for his decision. Or let us take the most important case at once. Six years after this occurrence, Sosthenes and some of his fellow-rulers of the synagogue might again have appeared before the judgment-seat, complaining that by the gradual growth of this heresy two-thirds of the Jewish community had now adopted the views of the Tarsus enthusiast, and that the majority, having usurped the control of the synagogue in which their fathers had prayed, now refused to permit anyone to use it except in worship of that Jesus who had been condemned as a deceiver by the central authorities at Jerusalem. And the vindication of their building—their demand that it be given back to them exclusively—would be founded not on the allegation that the new religion was false, but on the allegation that it was another religion from that for which the building was intended. What would be the answer of Crispus and Gaius, and the other elders of the “Church of God which is at Corinth”? Unless they had wholly lost the spirit of their Apostle, who said, “I stand at Cæsar’s judgment-seat, where I ought to be judged,” but who thought himself happy to stand there in the presence of King Agrippa, because he knew the king to be “expert in all customs and questions which are among the Jews,”

‘they would have accepted the challenge with the utmost alacrity. And their defence, as Jews, would be not only ‘that “they worshipped the God of their fathers, be-“ lieving all things which are written in the law and the “prophets,” but “that they *alone* clave to the promise “to which their twelve tribes, instantly serving God “night and day, for so many ages, had hoped to come,” ‘and that it was their opponents who had apostatised from ‘the central hope, for the cherishing of which the nation ‘existed and the synagogue was built. The proconsul ‘could hardly refuse to decide a simple question of pro-‘perty. Yet the question of property (or use) in this case ‘could not well be settled without deciding first the whole ‘great question of Church identity, which Paul argues in ‘many a fiery page—unless, indeed, the Roman had acted, ‘like our earlier Scottish Judges, before Lord Eldon’s time, ‘and simply given the property to the majority (of mem-‘bers of the synagogue, or builders of the synagogue, or ‘rulers of the synagogue, for all these were tried) without ‘any inquiry into opinions at all. But even this (which is ‘the course to which Scotch Churchmen have always ‘leaned) implies that the action is not dismissed as incom-‘petent, but entertained and decided.’\*

\* A. Taylor Innes’s *Law of Creeds in Scotland*, note, pp. 330–331.—I cannot quote this work without expressing my strong admiration of its learning, ability, and (with a very few exceptions) impartial statement of the whole question discussed in this Address.

## NOTE C.

THE SOCIAL RELATION OF THE ESTABLISHED CHURCH TO  
NONCONFORMISTS.

THE proposal to admit Nonconformist ministers, or the Presbyterian clergy of the Established Church of Scotland, to preach, under certain conditions, in the pulpits of the Church of England, would probably conduce so greatly to a better state of religious feeling, and an enlarged efficiency of the whole ecclesiastical force of the country, that it may be worth while to show how entirely it would be in conformity with principles and practices already acknowledged in the Church of England.

During the hundred years from the Reformation to the Restoration, there is no doubt that it was the acknowledged usage. Under the 13th Eliz. c. 12, Presbyterian divines were permitted, on conforming to part of the Thirty-nine Articles, not only to preach, but to hold benefices, in the English Church.\* At the Restoration this was prohibited. But even under the Act of Uniformity (13 & 14 Car. II. c. 15-20), it was possible, though under limitations of a more stringent character, for lecturers to preach even in parish churches with the consent of the Bishop, and in cathedral and collegiate churches with the consent of the ordinary, and accordingly Howe and Calamy did so preach occasionally.† For these stringent regulations have now been substituted the milder forms prescribed by the recent Subscription Act. In this way, even

\* *Historical Inquiry, whether the Ministers of Nonepiscopal Churches may receive Allowance to Preach occasionally in the Pulpits of the Church of England* (London, 1859), p. 27.

† *Life of John Howe*, by Henry Rogers, p. 176.—*Baxter's Memoirs*, p. 386.

without any alteration of the law, such occasional ~~and~~ exceptional lecturers or preachers, if they could so ~~far~~ conform, might be admitted. The question remains, whether the very wide latitude afforded by the recent change would fail to include any large body of Nonconformists. At any rate the permission, limited as it is, admits ~~the~~ principle. And even the Act of Uniformity (13 & 14 Car. II. c. 9, 11) appears to allow to Nonepiscopal ~~for~~ reigners or aliens not only the power of preaching, but ~~of~~ holding benefices.

Further, by 32 George III. c. 63, the clergy of the Protestant Episcopal Church of Scotland, who are in the position of Dissenters towards the Established Churches of both countries, were permitted to officiate with the consent of the Bishop, although belonging to a different communion, and in some important points, both of ritual and discipline, divergent from the forms of the Church of England. And yet more, by 3 & 4 Victoria, c. 33, anyone ordained by the Bishops of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States, is allowed the same privilege; so that it is now lawful for clergymen to preach in our pulpits, who (with the American Episcopalians) entirely reject the Athanasian Creed, omit one of the Articles of the Apostles' Creed, and have adopted modifications of the Visitation and Burial Services—points which, whether rightly or wrongly, remove some of the chief stumblingblocks of the existing English Liturgy in the eyes of Nonconformists. 'As matters now stand,' writes an able and conscientious minister (who calls himself 'A Dissenter against his will'), 'I could cross the Atlantic, and come back an ordained brother of English Churchmen, ready for any kindly recognition any Bishop on this side would grant me for the sake of his American brother.' It is obvious that this circuitous opening

through the American Church does, in fact, admit not only the whole principle here advocated, but a large part of the practice.

It may be further pointed out, that there is not anything either in the practice or principle of allowing Nonepiscopalians to preach in our churches (under such conditions as might be agreed upon) to which the extremest High Churchman need object. It is not proposed —Nonconformists themselves probably would not wish that they should be authorised to administer the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, or to ordain. But the right of persons not episcopally ordained to preach has been recognised at all times, both in the ancient and in the Roman Church. The famous preachers Pantænus, Origen, and St. Anthony, the founder of the monastic rule, were not in Orders at all. St. Francis, when he first commenced his great career of preaching, was neither priest nor deacon. In the Protestant Episcopal Church of the United States (lately recognised, by a large section of the English Episcopate, as part 'of the Anglican Communion') it is, I believe, a not infrequent practice of the clergy to admit Nonepiscopal ministers to preach in their pulpits. The principle, therefore, is one which is recognised not only by English law, but by those ecclesiastical authorities which are most distinctly acknowledged by the only persons in the Church to whom such a practice could be expected to give umbrage.

I have ventured to suggest, for the consideration of our ecclesiastical rulers, this relaxation of our ecclesiastical system, as involving the maximum of increased usefulness and good feeling on both sides, with the minimum of organic change.

There are two other measures which, whilst desirable on other grounds, would tend indefinitely to diminish the

social estrangement which every true member of the National Church must deplore.

Revision  
of the  
Authorised  
Version.

One is the opportunity of including Nonconformists with Churchmen whenever the time shall come for the revision of the Authorised Version. Whenever the reverential interest of Englishmen in the Bible shall have so increased as to render it impossible for the clergy and laity of the Church to continue to read, as Scripture, texts known to be spurious, translations of passages known to be erroneous, and large portions of the Old Testament, of which the meaning is perverted, then will come the day, which it would be as wrong prematurely to anticipate as it would be needlessly to retard, when the question must be considered, to whose hands this most delicate yet necessary task must be confided. And inasmuch as the Authorised Version has become the property of the whole Protestant Anglo-Saxon community, and forms a religious bond between its different parts, closer than any other which exists, it is manifest that any substitute for it must combine as great and as extended an authority as is possible to obtain. This—besides the probable need of invoking the learning of the Nonconformist as well as of the Established divines—would make it necessary that, in any Commission for the revision of the translation, both should have their place. For such a recognition of unity, for such a reunion in the grandest of all the works which belong to a National Church, we must look forward, and, looking forward, do all that in us lies to prepare for its accomplishment.

Admission  
to the  
Universi-  
ties.

Another such means may be specially named—the free admission of Nonconformists to our Universities. There may, especially in regard to the Colleges, be some practical difficulties in detail; but the general effects of such a measure (if past experience can enable us to forecast

the future) can hardly fail to exercise the most beneficial influence both on the Church and the Dissenters. It must be remarked, that the same alarm as that now expressed has appeared at the proposal of each successive relaxation of the academical tests. It was expressed by hundreds when it was proposed to abolish the subscription to the Articles at matriculation. It was expressed again when it was proposed to abolish the subscription at the degree of B.A. It was expressed again, I believe, at every attempt to abolish the subscription at the degree of M.A., even after it had ceased, in its stringent form, to be exacted from the clergy. The ancient Universities and Colleges afford exactly that field of equal social intercourse, which would most effectually soften the exasperation and reduce the misunderstanding which now exist between Churchmen and Nonconformists. Whilst—speaking as a Churchman, and as one who desires to maintain, so far as it can be maintained, the influence of venerable and sacred associations—the genius of the place and the prevailing atmosphere of the society would have more power than any other single agency I do not say to turn Nonconformists into Churchmen, or Roman Catholics into Protestants, or sceptical inquirers into devout believers, but at least to remove that sense of estrangement and hostility which now makes all approaches between them so difficult and so precarious. There is not at present—there has not been for the last forty years—any lack of theological divisions within the University of Oxford. It has been the very battlefield of the contending armies, not of the Church of England only, but of the intellectual and ecclesiastical struggles of the whole nation. But the humanising, civilising, Christianising effects of the sense of a common University, of a common course of education of

a common pursuit of truth and of goodness, have rendered these differences compatible not only with private friendship, but with kindly sympathy—with earnest active work for the interests which the best spirits of the contending schools have at heart.

#### NOTE D.

##### RELAXATION OF SUBSCRIPTION.

‘It was observed of the Oracle of Delphi, that during all the ages when the oracle commanded the real reverence of Greece, the place in which it was enshrined needed no walls for its defence. The awful grandeur of its natural situation, the majesty of its temple, were sufficient. Its fortifications—as useless as they were unseemly—were built only in that disastrous time when the ancient feeling of faith had decayed, and the oracle was forced to rely on the arm of flesh—on its bulwarks of brick and stone, not on its own intrinsic sanctity. May God avert this omen from us! It is only in these later ages of the Church, or chiefly in the Protestant portions of Christendom, that subscriptions have been piled up to circumscribe our oracle and our sanctuary. Let us show that we, in these later days, are willing to free ourselves from these unsightly barriers, which encumber, without defending, the truth which they enclose and hide. Let us show that we, in our Reformed Church, are not afraid to dispense with those artificial restraints which the Catholic Church in ancient and, as we think, less enlightened times scorned to call to its aid.’\*

\* *Letter to the Bishop of London on the State of Subscription*, 1863, pp. 53, 54.

These words, from a former publication, were quoted, in a kind and courteous spirit, in the discussion which followed on my Address, by an able speaker, who adduced them as an argument against the position which I had advocated. I am glad to have this opportunity of reaffirming my entire adherence to them, as regards the purpose for which they were originally used.

That external institutions must exist for carrying on the instruction of the world, whether religious or intellectual, is undeniable. Universities, schools, churches, are of this nature, and the freer and wider they can be made—the more comprehensive, the more national—so much the stronger and the more efficient do they become. Even the Oracle of Delphi had its splendid temple, and its unrivalled situation, quite irrespective of the unsightly fortifications which were built round it in a later age. It is the artificial and extrinsic bulwarks of subscriptions, and adhesions\* to formularies (which ought to stand, and, if they are worthy to stand, will stand by their intrinsic merits), that I ventured to deprecate as useless and unnecessary, whether imposed by Nonconformists or Churchmen, by the Clergy or the State. I rejoice to think that, since these words were written, the object which they sought has been in great part accomplished. Within a year from that time a Royal Commission was issued, for the purpose of considering this very question. It is

\* The test of Membership required by the Church of England (see '*Letter to the Bishop of London on Subscription*', pp. 66, 67) is, the Apostles' Creed, as required in the Baptismal Service and the Office of the Visitation of the Sick. The original tests for the clergy are (*ibid.* 67-73) : 1. An acknowledgment of the Supremacy of the Crown ; 2. A promise to administer the doctrine, sacraments, and discipline of this Church and Realm ; 3. An acknowledgment of the supremacy of the Bible ; 4. A promise of faithful teaching, diligence, devoutness, domestic purity, and concord ; 5. A promise of deference to superiors. All the other subscriptions are of later date.

true that the powerful appeal\* made to it by the venerable Dean of the Metropolitan Cathedral, for removing the subscription to the Thirty-nine Articles, was not entirely successful. But it was heard, as we have been told by an impartial eyewitness,† with respect and admiration; and the result of the whole inquiry has been such a modification of the existing forms of subscription, as to take from them every one of those expressions of emphasis and particularity, which have caused so much scandal and scruple, from the time they were first imposed till the day when they were swept away. The stringent declaration of assent to the Prayer Book, which, more than any other single cause, produced the disruption of the Nonconformists in 1662, has entirely disappeared. The stringent subscription to the Thirty-nine Articles, with which the High Church party was so constantly taunted in 1845, has disappeared also. In their place there remains only the most bare and general assent to the doctrine of the Church of England, as contained in both documents equally, with all the qualifications and counteractions which each of the two supplies to the other. No contrast of ecclesiastical events in our time has been more encouraging than the transition from the panic amongst the leading clergy, when the change was first mooted in the House of Lords in 1840, to the enthusiastic reception which the change met in the Southern Convocation, and the easy and almost silent acquiescence in the House of Lords, when it was finally accomplished in 1865.‡

\* Speech of the Dean of St. Paul's before the Royal Commission, reprinted in *Fraser's Magazine*, March 1864.

† 'Never had I a higher intellectual gratification than in hearing that noble old man expound his view before us.'—*Speech of the Dean of Ely in the Lower House of Convocation in 1865.*

‡ I may refer to a description in *Fraser's Magazine*, December 1865, pp. 741-744.

Whether these subscriptions might be reduced further, is a question on which I need not enter here; but as regards the general argument in relation to the Established Church, it is evident that they would not be rendered more easy if the Church were to abandon its connection with the State. The case of a well-known Professor, who was excluded within our time from the headship of a Nonconformist College, shows that less liberty was there allowed than is conceded within the Church of England. And those within our own pale who have been most desirous of escaping from the control of the State have also been most desirous of imposing at least two—probably several—additional Articles of Belief on the English Clergy.

## NOTE E.

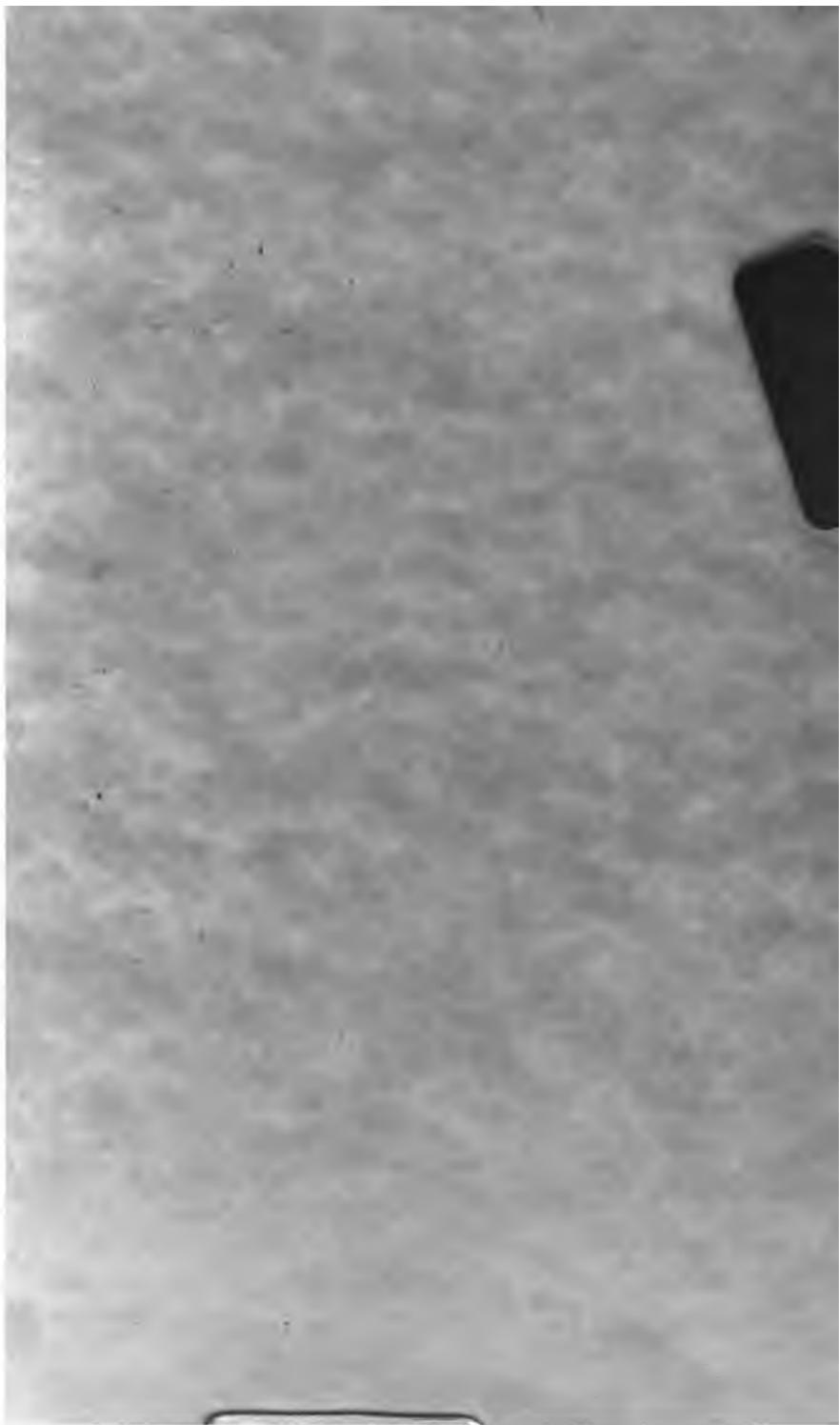
In referring to Hooker, as one of the chief champions of the doctrine set forth in this Address, I cannot forbear to quote the following admirable summary of his position, from the Preface to the First Book of his 'Ecclesiastical 'Polity,' just published amongst the Oxford 'English 'Classics.'

'His education was under the characteristic influences 'which marked the age and reign of Elizabeth, and he 'lived to be one of the most original and worthy repre- 'sentatives of its spirit: the one adequate exponent of its 'religious ideas and policy. With these no one more 'fully sympathised; and no one conceived them in so 'comprehensive and masterly a manner. The results of 'the religious movement of the time had taken shape 'under the resolute but cautious hand of the Queen in a 'Church polity, which was thought at the time, and has

‘proved to be, unique ; but which has also proved singularly suited to the character of the English nation. Of this system, which looks like the growth of accident, though it was really rooted in the conditions of the people whose history it has since so profoundly affected, Hooker discerned the effective and governing principles ; he divined what was permanent and capable of life in it, in comparison with clamorous and more plausible rivals ; he gave it a broad and defensible theory, and he seized, and exhibited in an impressive form, all that it contained of what was noble and attractive.’







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